

Minister of ~~Home Affairs~~ ^{State} (SHIGEMITSU Mamoru)

"Unworthy as I am I unexpectedly took charge of the heavy task of Foreign Affairs in April of last year, and it is my great honour to have the opportunity to express my views on the diplomatic policies of the Imperial Japanese Government at this day.

The war situation is getting more severe day after day, as you know well, and U.S. and British forces have come into contact with the outer lines of the west and the east defence circles of our Axis powers as a result of their counter attacks since last year. Finding it is difficult to make further advance with only their own strength, they decided to borrow other countries' power at any cost, and for this purpose they met together at MOSCOW at about the same time that the Great-East-Asia Conference was held. Next, they conferred at CAIRO and at TEHRAN. Thus they seem to have decided on speedy general counterattacks against the great European fortress in the west and against our country in the east. These are their programmes in this year.

The leaders of U.S. and Britain, including CHUNG KING, held the CAIRO conference at the end of November, last year and proposed to force upon Japan an unconditional surrender by increasing merciless attacks on her, and promised to deprive Japan of all her territories except her mainland, taking some parts as their own possessions and giving some to CHINA, thus they attempted to prevent the withdrawal of the CHUNG KING Government from their influence. In spite of their announcement that they are now on their counter attack with all their power against Japan, what they have got so far is nothing but a few scattered islands in our outpost lines, and what they have paid in return is many ships and hundreds of thousands of soldiers sunk to the bottom of the sea (applause), and yet American people are at a loss to understand why they are fighting and have to fight in remote places of East Asia which have no connection with the safety of the U.S.A. (applause)

When his policy "New Deal" had come to a standstill at home, the President of the USA was forced to direct the citizens' attention outside the country by fanning actively the embers of war in order to fasten it on foreign affairs and spread propaganda that the American Continent was about to be attacked and invaded by enemies at any moment. Without USA provocation, the present war was really to be avoided. In spite of the fact that there was nothing at all to threaten the peace and security of the American Continent and that the US people could have enjoyed peace they have been driven into an unforeseen adventure and must submit to becoming a useless, expensive sacrifice (applause). But he acting as if he were the administrator of the world and ruler of East Asia, not only

provoked the European war but also interfering in the matter of East Asia as he liked, he applied so called Economic Sanctions to Japan and at last resorted to the measure of an economic war. It is clear even according to many documents made public by the USA Government itself that the Pacific War had already been begun by USA before the attack on Pearl Harbour was made. (applause) Thus USA set out towards a colonial war. The war planned by USA is, in short, a war of policy. This is a clear fact judging from the point of view that presumably the USA is making efforts to strengthen all over the world the foundations of governing the world in place of Britain. (applause) USA and Britain intend not only to have allied powers at their beck and call but also to bring neutral nations into the war by every artifice and power and have dared to enlarge the scope of the war with the intention of taking advantage of them as they want. Their oppression of Turkey and others is an action which infringes on international morality and has been incurring general anger. But the attitude of Turkey has not changed at all and Argentine in South America, which was also placed under similar oppression is still maintaining an unflinching attitude (applause). The counter offensive of the USA and Britain in the East and West has thus been commenced on a grand scale but the victory cannot be got by propaganda and deception only. The strong position of the East and the West Axis is standing firmly without the slightest tremor. (applause) On the European front the German troops have consolidated their front line as it has become necessary in order to meet the enemy in a strong position and are now making all the necessary preparations. The fact that the Germans who in the past had a bitter experience and are now undergoing the severest ordeal on record, with united cooperation and firm conviction remain confident of final victory under the leadership of Hitler is indeed a magnificent spectacle in World history (applause). The German troops are, thus, watching for a chance to take the offensive in order to change the war situation and the German people are working vigorously with an inflexible spirit, confident of a final victory in spite of the severe air raids. The enemy cannot do but admit this fact. The Imperial Government at present maintains close relations with the Reich Government, cooperating not only in military matters but also in various other affairs. Under the leadership of Mussolini a new Italy is strongly rising up again as a member of the Axis Powers, and the time will come soon when she can proclaim her brilliant future by close cooperation with our Empire and Reich fighting a common front (applause). Since the recent political change of Italy, the enemy side frequently speaks of peace for the purpose of causing disturbance among the Axis Powers. This is not only their usual means but also a sign of their internal unrest and their desire of a speedy end of the war, that is, it is nothing but a sign of their impatience (applause). The European Axis Powers are carrying to the finish this common war, with determined steadfastness, in spite of the enemy's persistent propaganda.

Our strong positions, defending East Asia, remain unshaken against the Enemy's severe counter-attacks in the Pacific area. This is no doubt attributable to the august virtue of His Majesty and to the bravery of our forces, to whom all of us feel greatly indebted. (Applause) I sincerely pray for the success in war of our brave men of the Army and Navy and respectfully mourn for those who died for our country.

The United States and Great Britain depend chiefly upon their material power. We cannot deny the importance of material power in present warfare but material power is not the only factor which decides a war. Even from the point of material power, the Enemy have many weaknesses and it must not be overlooked that they have a great deal of trouble and weak points when it comes to manpower. Furthermore, the geographical advantage is on our side. In addition, our people's devotion to war far exceeds that of the Enemy nations. (Applause) Our belief in certain victory, however, does not lie in numbers, or in quantities, or in geographical advantages, but in the harmonious union of our people. The question before us is whether we shall survive or die together. What gives us encouragement is the great achievements of our ancestors who overcame many national crises in the past and the very fighting spirit with which we are determined to secure a glorious future for our Empire. The glorious future of our Empire will surely be brought about only by the all out effort of the whole nation. There is no reason for doubt about our ultimate victory on account of the august virtue of His Majesty, the bravery of our soldiers at the front and the all out efforts of all the people on the home front. This belief of ours in certain victory comes from the fact that we are fighting this war for the existence of our Empire and that the prosperity of East Asia depends upon the issue of this war.

From first to last, the U.S.A. and Britain have been wanting to check both Germany's efforts to extend her influence as a great power in Europe and Japan's efforts to possess a great power and influence in the Orient. This is the reason why they have enforced in Europe the policy of Balance of Power, and executed in China a semi-colonial policy under the guise of the principles of the Open Door and Equal Opportunity.

It is their fundamental policy to establish an actual supremacy all over the world during which they utilize together their respective influences to check any collusion. Such was the Pax Britannica in time past and such is the present proposed Pax Americana.

Any effort by Japan and China together towards mutual cooperation in preserving the peace and order or planning the prosperity of East Asia means, from their point of view, the revival of East Asia and their own withdrawal therefrom. In the past, they have taken advantage of the Empire to embark

on a policy of keeping China down and checking the expansion of Imperial Russia; as the Empire grew more powerful, however, they have grabbed China and started a policy of using her to check us. This is the essential background to the confusion in the Far East - in other words, it is their traditional policy of "Divide et impera."

Judging from a recent speech of the President of the U.S.A., the U.S.A. and Britain are planning the absolute obliteration of our Empire, which is why the present war is a war of defense, on which the fate of our fatherland depends. If we collapse halfway, not only will the existence of the Empire be denied forever but East Asia will be brought down to its original condition and the opportunity to maintain our independence will be lost forever. The present war is indeed one of self-existence and self-defense, for all the Axis countries and one of independence for Asia. It is truly a mission from Heaven that the Empire, with its eternal and glorious 3000 years' history, has devoted herself to the great task of emancipating Asia as a great power in the world and restoring East Asia. The Empire, in cooperation with all the nations and all the peoples of East Asia will crush once for all the wicked plans of the U.S.A. and Britain. (Hand clapping)

IPS Doc. No. 3028

This great war will really bring about great changes in the world. The war which was begun for the purpose of checking Germany in order to maintain British world imperialism, took on a more profound significance with the clash of Germany and Russia. This condition has been clearly reflected in the world situation since the "Teheran" Conference. Moreover, the important measures of the emancipation of "Asia" and reconstruction of the Far East were added in actual fact as a result of the outbreak of the Greater East Asia War. The period during which "Asia" was a colony or a semi-colony of Britain and the U. S. A. has already passed away. No one can save Asia but the Asiatics themselves. As long as British and American control lasted, the stability of the Far East could not be hoped for at all, and disturbances would never cease. After the sources of unrest have been rooted out from the East, then for the first time she can return to her own real nature. Although in the past there have been regrettable conflicts on several occasions between Japan and China, today, due to outside control having been driven away, the relations between two countries have turned today to the foundation of eternal stability. China having participated in the war, relations between the two countries, Japan and China have been established on a firm basis and more than one year has passed since. During that year our policy has been carried out steadily and in October last year a treaty of alliance was concluded. The foundation of eternal friendship between two countries has been clearly established, and fundamental friendly relations are now unshakeably fixed. From now on, it is expected that a completely peaceful situation will be established in China. As for the Japanese Empire, she should endeavour to carry out thoroughly and consistently her established policy. As the war progresses, there will naturally follow various economic difficulties but the two countries can work together hand in hand resolved to surmount any difficulties. Japan is very grateful for the great cooperation of Manchukuo who has one mind and is under the same interests with Japan. It is also a matter of the utmost joy that Thai who is an influential member of the Far East has become an ally directly after the outbreak of the war and she is making a great contribution on the united front towards the reconstruction of the Far East. The representatives of the Far Eastern countries together with the head of the provisional government of India met in Tokyo at the beginning of last November and issued Greater East Asia Declaration as the coordinated policy of their respective countries. The ideals of the establishment of the Far East and the great policy which must be the foundation of world peace were clearly announced. Principles expressed in the Great East Asia Declaration are, in short, to liberate, protect and restore East Asia and further to make a positive contribution to the establishment of permanent peace in concert with all countries in the world in general. And these principles, despite the fact they have met with various inconveniences to be done in war time have steadily materialized through the sincere efforts of countries concerned. Now, in the land of East Asia the time for restoration is at the flood and Burma and Philippine who have won the honour of independence, intend to contribute to the development of the world with their newly awakened spirit. Thus they are putting into practice the spirit of the Great East Asia Declaration. And also Indians' long-cherished desire for independence has foundation through the formation of the Free "India" provisional government. This object of restoring East Asia and liberating Asia is indeed the very source that gives

us confidence to fight on to the end of this war in confidence of victory. The foreign policy to which our empire strictly adheres, aims at the development of friendly and good neighbourly relations widely with countries all over the world. The purport of the statement contained in Principle 5 of the Great East Asia Declaration.....promote friendly relations with all nations, abolish racial discrimination, universal interchange of culture, voluntary opening of resources and contribution to the progress of the world.....also exist here. The universal idea of live and let live is not to shut but to open and also is not to exclude but to cooperate. I am convinced that promoting and pushing this policy of international friendship and construction rather than destruction is the great way to relieve the world from disturbances. Our empire, according to the above-mentioned policy, will promote the relation of mutual friendship especially with adjoining nations and furthermore intends to hold generally the same policy towards all nations in the world. With regard to nations which are now neutral as regards our empire whether far or near, we are making efforts not only to avoid the spread of war but to promote friendship with them. Above all, the relations between Japan and the Soviet Union have not been worsened neither by the outbreak of the Great East Asia War nor by the development of the European War, and the neutrality of the two countries has been strictly maintained. Now-a-days, the enemies U.S.A. and Britain are vehemently announcing their all-out attack and taking the offensive against the Axis Powers' strong positions in Europe and Asia. Thus the enemy's counter-attack in the Pacific areas is becoming more intense day by day. From these circumstances, I think the autumn of this year will be the crucial time which will decide the general current of the international war situation. So that, in spite of my small ability, I am ready to do my best to administer our foreign policy complying with the desires of the Emperor. (Applause.)

Человек с амальгамными зубами
не боится войны: Боюсь
Ягубов

W.D.C. No. _____

I.P.S. No. _____

Statement of Source and Authenticity

I, /s/ Tomoo Satow hereby certify that I am officially connected with the Japanese Government in the following capacity: Secretary of the Cabinet and that as such official I have custody of the document hereto attached consisting of 14 pages, dated 21 Jan, 19 44, and described as follows: Speech by Shigemitsu in the 84th Diet

I further certify that the attached record and document is an official document of the Japanese Government, and that it is part of the official archives and files of the following named ministry or department (specifying also the file number or citation, if any, or any other official designation of the regular location of the document in the archives or files):
Cabinet Secretariat

Signed at Tokyo on this15th day of May, 1947/s/ Tomoo Satow
Signature of Official

SEAL

Witness: /s/ Tsuneharu Baba/s/ Secretary of the Cabinet
Official CapacityStatement of Official Procurement

I, /s/ 2d Lt. Eric W. Fleisher 0-935000, hereby certify that I am associated with the General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, and that the above certification was obtained by me from the above signed official of the Japanese Government in the conduct of my official business.

Signed at Tokyo on this15 day of May, 1947/s/ E.W. Fleisher
NAMEWitness: /s/ Johnson F. Munroe/s/ Investigator, IPS
Official Capacity

Doc 3028

No. 1

○國務院(重光葵氏)不肖昨年四月 閣下も帝
国の外政担当の重任を拜し、今日茲に帝
国政府の外交方針に付き所見を同陳する
機会を得ず。にこは、私、最も先采とする所
でございす。

戦局は所承通り益々深刻となり、米英は
昨年来の反攻に依り、漸く東西把軸防衛の外郭
に接觸するに至つたを予す。彼等は此の上自力
のみを以て進攻するの困難なるを感じ、如何なる犠
牲を拂ふも必要なる他国の力を借入んとするに至
り、是が爲め大東亞會議と名付後、モ
スコに相會し、更にカイロ及びテヘランに至りて協
議款に達せり。彼等は斯様に、西、
西、歐洲大要塞に對し、又東、帝國に對し、遠
に總反攻に仕ふることに決した模様ならず。是
が本年に於ける彼等の企図ならず。

米英首脳部は昨年十月下旬重慶をも加へた
イロに會議を開き、帝國に對し、假借なく攻撃を必要
條件降伏を強要すべしと稱し、本土以外、帝國領域
は悉く之を奪取して、或は自分、領土となし、或は之を
支那に分ち與ふべしと約し、重慶政權の離脱を所
止せんと致したを予す。彼等は會談に金力を
挙げて、対日總反攻に仕立て居ると聲明して居るを予

Doc 3028

りする。今日まで獲得したものは、我が前哨線に散
在する数個の島嶼に過ぎず、是は代償として支拂
つたものは海面に葬り去られたる多数の艦船並に数
千の兵員で打ちあひ（拍手）而も米國民は、何う
爲に米國の安全とは何等關係のない東亞の僻地
に於て戦ふに居るやある。又戦はねばならないや
あるのを、彼等は了解するに苦しんで居る有様なり
（拍手）

米國大統領は其の政策たる「三・D・P」なるも
の、国内的に行詰り来りするや、是は打開を外
に求めんとし、盛んに戦争熱を煽りて國民の視
聴を強ひて国外に轉じ、今にも米大陸の外敵に
依り襲撃を蒙るべしとせむと宣傳をなすや
する。米國の挑発はなかつたならば今次の戦争は実
は起るやと消人に言及しております。米大陸の安全を脅威
するものは何処にもなく米國民は平和を喜ばし得たる
はずに拘らず、不測の冒険に迫られ、不必要にして高
價なる犠牲に甘んぜしめられて居る次第でございます（拍手）
而して彼は恰も世界の管理者であり、東亞の支配者であ
るが如き行動に出で、参りもしも歐洲戦争を挑発
したる上、忽ち東亞に介入し来り、遂に帝國に對して所
謂經濟制裁を加へ、進んで經濟戦争の手段に到つた
たゞでありませう。太平洋戦争は、真珠灣以前に既に
米國によつて開始せられて居たことは、現に米國政府

No. 2

自身に依て発表するに當るの文書に依ては明白なるが、
にもす(指す)

3028 斯くの如く、英國は植民地の戦争に表出したのであるが、英國
の戦争は要するに政治戦争である。蓋し右は英國の全世界に
互に英國は世界制覇を達成する國としてあることを見
明かなる事案である。蓋し米英戦争は英國を驅逐するのみ
でなく凡ゆる非盟威圧と一中立國と戦争し、凡ゆる戦禍拡大を
導く事案に之を利用せんと欲して居るものと、此の其の他に対する
圧迫は國際道義を蹂躪するものである。一般憤懣を招いて居
る所である。蓋し右の如く、英國は何事かを成さず、又同様を
脅迫を蒙つた南米にせよ、右の如く、蓋し右の如く、蓋し右の如く、
次第である。蓋し右の如く、蓋し右の如く、蓋し右の如く、
今、問題が起るに居るのであり、蓋し右の如く、蓋し右の如く、
て居るもの、蓋し右の如く、蓋し右の如く、蓋し右の如く、
感動を蒙つて居るもの、蓋し右の如く、蓋し右の如く、蓋し右の如く、
歐洲聖塞に於ては、蓋し右の如く、蓋し右の如く、蓋し右の如く、
整理を行ひ、蓋し右の如く、蓋し右の如く、蓋し右の如く、
せんに、蓋し右の如く、蓋し右の如く、蓋し右の如く、
の國民が、蓋し右の如く、蓋し右の如く、蓋し右の如く、
試練に、蓋し右の如く、蓋し右の如く、蓋し右の如く、
進んで、蓋し右の如く、蓋し右の如く、蓋し右の如く、
りませぬ(指す)斯くの如く、蓋し右の如く、蓋し右の如く、
提へて、蓋し右の如く、蓋し右の如く、蓋し右の如く、

3
No.

Doc 3028

No. 4

空襲の下に不屈の精神を以て勝利を確信し、敵國を
續け居るのであります。此の事實は敵側すら承
認せざるを得ない所であるのであります。帝國政府は
當時「ドイツ政府」と緊密なる連絡を保ち、軍事上
上は勿論、各般の問題に於て凡ゆる協力を遂げつゝある
次第であります。新「イタリヤ」は「ムソリーニ」総帥指導
の下に枢軸の環として再び力強く立ち上りつゝあるのであ
ります。帝國及「ドイツ」との共同戦線に於て「イタリヤ」
が光輝ある將來を開くことは期して候つてゐるのであ
ります（拙著）過般（イタリヤ）政変後敵側は頻りに和平
の宣傳を行い、枢軸與國を動搖せしめんと密策動致した
のであります。是は彼等の虚言手段であるのみならず
す、彼等國內の不安及び戦争早期終結の要請を
反映して居るものであります。畢竟するに彼等の虚言
感を示す以外の何ものでもないやあります（拙著）歐洲
に於ける枢軸與國は斯かる敵側の宣傳にも拘らず、
確乎不動共同戦争を完遂せんとして居る次第であ
ります。太平洋方面に於ける敵の熾烈なる反攻に
對し、我が東亞保衛の堅陣は聊か揺らぐて居るこ
とが、是を申すまでもなく、御褒威の下皇軍の勇戦
奮闘の跡であります。全國民の感激措く能はざる所
であります（拙著）私は茲に我が忠勇なる陸海將兵の
武運長久を切に祈ると共に、殉國の英靈に於て謹んで敬

平の意を表するものではありません。米英の情む所は主として
物質力であり、現代戦争に於て物質力の重要な
ことは固より否定は出来ないのであります。併しながら
勝敗は單に物質力の優劣に依つて定まるものではありません
せぬ。物質力の点から見ても敵に幾多の弱点があるのであ
りまして、又人的資源に於ては少からず脆弱点を有すること
は見逃し難いのでありますのみならず、地の利は寧ろ我に
あるものとあります。而も國民戦意の点に至つては彼は到底
我が敵ではないのであります（拍手）蓋し我が必勝の信念
は数にあらず、又量にあらず、將又地の利にもあらずして、
實に人の和にあるのであります。我が國民の當面するのは共
に生くるか共に死するかの問題であります。吾人を促すも
のは過去に於て幾多國難を克服した祖先の偉業を顧
み、皇國の偉大なる將來を確保せんことを期する敢闘の
精神其のものであります。皇國の光輝ある將來は一億
敢闘に依つて必ず招来せらるるものであります。御稜威の
下前線に於ける皇軍の勇戦と銃後戦線に於ける國民
總員の蹶起とに依り、最後の勝利の我にあるべきことは毫
疑ひを挟む餘地がないのであります。此の必勝の信念は今
次の戦争が我に取つては帝國存立の戦ひであり、東亞
に取つては興隆の懸る聖戦である所より生ずるもので
あります。歐洲に於てドイツが帝國として其の實力を伸
長することは東洋に於て日本が帝國の實力を具備すること

doc 302f

ともに米英の終始阻止せんと欲する所でありまして、是れ即ち歐洲に於て勢力均衡政策なるものを実施し、支那に於ては門戸開放、機會均等主義の形になきまゝ、半植民地的政策を運用し來た所以であります。數個の勢力を相互に縛束牽制せしめ、其の間に全世界に亘つて事實上の支配權を設定するが、彼等の根本政策でありまして、是が所謂過去に於ける東國派の平和態勢であり、現在企圖されて居る米國派の平和態勢なのであります。

日本と支那とが提携し、東亞の安定を保ち繁榮を圖ることは、彼等より之を見れば東亞の復興であり、彼等の退却を意味するものであります。彼等は過去に於て帝國を利用して支那を抑制し、又帝政ロシアの進出阻止の政策に出で、帝國が強大となるに及び、之を控制せしが爲に支那を拉し來つて、之を利用するの政策を執るに至りました。是が東亞禍亂の重要な背景となすものであります。即ち今割く支配することは彼等の傳統的政策なのであります。米國大統領の最近の演説に徴しまして、米英は實に帝國の抹殺を企圖するものであります。此の戦争が我が祖國の興廢を賭する防衛の闘争なる所以であります。吾人として半途挫折するが如きことあるが、單に帝國の存在が永久に否認せらるゝのみならず、東亞

も旧態に復せしめられ、自主獨立を完うすべき機會は永遠に失はれるのであります。實に今次戦争は樞軸諸國に取つては眞に自存自衛の戦争であり、「アジア」に取つて

No 7

doc 302 f

は自主獨立の戦争であります。帝國は悠久三千年の光輝
ある歴史を有し、帝國が世界を確立しようとして、解放
東亞復興の大業に投身して、あるのは正に天與の使命
であります。帝國は志を同じうする東亞の各國各民族
と相協力して、米英の非道なる企圖を断乎粉碎せんと
するものであります。(柏年)

(以下次頁)

doc 3028

No. 8

今次大戦は正に世界の大変動でございます。英國の世界帝國維持を目的とする対独挑戰に始る戦争は、独逸の戦争に依る其の様相愈々深刻を加へ、右は「ラッヘン」會議以後の世界情勢に遺憾なく反映されて居る次第でございます。更に又大東亞戰災勃發に依る「アジア」解放、東亞復興の重大なる意義が現實に加へられてゐるのでございます。「アジア」が未來の植民地若しは半植民地たる時代は既に去り、た「アジア」を救済するは「アジア」人以外にはあり得ないのであり、また、未來の支配勢力が残存する限り、東亞の安定は到底望ま難く、禍乱は永久に絶えませぬ、攪乱勢力が駆逐せられ、茲に初めて東亞は其の本然の姿に復帰し得るのでございます。是に於て日支兩國間に幾多の非難あるべき、紛争を見る後、今日兩國の關係が永久に安定する基礎を見出し、たのも、全く未來の支配的勢力が一掃せられたに起因する次第でございます。支那が戦争に参入せしめ、致しまして日支兩國間に基礎關係が設けられ、既に一年余に及びます。其の間我が政策は著々進捗を見て、昨年十月には同盟條約の締結を見、兩國國交永遠の基調は明定せられ、基本的友好關係は茲に確乎不動のものとなつてゐる次第でございます。今支那内部に於て完全なる和平狀態の確立せらるることか期待せらるる訳であります。帝國としては、始終一貫、既定の政策を徹底せしむべく、努力を致す決意でございます。戦争の進行と共に、經濟問題等幾多の困難の伴はることは、予言の如きでございます。

doc 3028

No. 9

が、兩國は相共に携へて如何なる難関をも突破する覚悟を以て
進んで居ることをいふ、帝國と徳との關係にある
滿洲國の絶大な協力に帝國は感謝措く能はざる所
でありまして、又東亞の有力なる一員であるこの國とは、既に
開戦直後同盟關係に入りまして、共同戦線に立つて東亞
復興の爲甚大な貢獻をなして、あることは、誠に欣ばる事
であります、東亞諸國代表は、印度假政府首班をも
迎へまして、昨年十月初頭東京に於て相會し、各國共同の
政策として大東亞宣言を發表し、東亞建設の理想と、世
界平和の基礎たるべき大方針を闡明致す所がありま
した、大東亞宣言に依りて表すところ、諸原則は、歸する
所、東亞を解放し、保衛し復興するものと、廣く世界各國
を提揚して、恒久平和の確立に積極的貢獻をなすことを期する
ものであります、是等の原則は、戦時下自ら各種の不便
があるに拘らず、關係各國の自決尊重の協力に依り、著々実
現せられつつある次第であります、今や東亞の大地には復興機
運澎湃として起つて居るをありまして、独立の希望を願う得
るに至り及び、リビには新興の意氣を以て世界の進運に
寄與せむことを期し、大東亞宣言の精神を實行に移して居
るに於てあります、又多事インドの宿望は、独立も自由も不
假政府の成立に依りて其の基礎が置かれるのであります、東
亞復興アリアン解放の目的は、實に吾人に対し飽く迄
勝つてく自信を興ふる所であるであります、帝國の堅持
したる對外政策は、廣く國際間に友好善隣關係を發

doc 3028

展せしめむとするのでありまして、大東亜宣言の原則第五に謂
ふ所の「万邦との友誼を以てし、人種的差別を撤廃し、吾く
文化を交流し、進んで資源を開放し、以て世界の進運に貢
献する趣旨も亦茲に存するをありませう。世界的友誼文字の
観念は、閉鎖に非ずし、解放に在るをありませう。排他に非ず
し、協力に在るをありませう。蓋し此の國際親和の政策を孤
不推進するとは、世界を禍乱より救済し、破壊を去りて建設に
就く大直進すること確信致すをありませう。帝國は右の方針に
則て、特に隣接諸國との相互親善の関係を順進すると
共に、更に進んで世界各國に対し、元々同一の方針を以て臨ま
ざるもをありませう。現在帝國と中主關係にある遠近の諸
國に対し、は、戦禍、拡大を避くるは勿論、益々交誼を密にし
せむことを努めて居る所でございます。就中日、兩國の關係は
大東亜戦争の勃発に依つても、時又歐洲戦争の進展に依
つても、何等影響を受受する所なく、兩國間の中主關係は
堅く維持され居る次第でございます。敵未吏は今自頻りに總攻
事を叫び、欧亜に於ける把柄の堅陣に対し、攻勢に振るを
ありまして、太平洋方面に於ける

→ 及東も日と逐つて熾烈

No. 10

を加へ居る状態でございます。斯様なる状況の下に、蓋し本年
は世界戦局の大勢を決定する重大の秋であらうと考
へ、依つて私は微力を顧みず、天衝心を体し、外政の運
用に最善の力を致す覚悟でございます（拍手）

證明書

與據及び公正ニ關スル證明

Doc 3028

余、佐藤トモヲハ、余ガ下記ノ資格ニ於
 郎々内閣書記官トシテ、日本政府ト公的關
 係ニ在ルモノナルコト、並ニ該官吏トシテ余ガ
 茲ニ添附セラルタル十四頁ヨリ成ル一九四四年
 一月二十一日附下記題名郎々第十四議會
 ニ於ケル重光氏ノ演説ナル文書、保管
 ニ任ジ居ルコトヲ茲ニ證明ス
 余ハ更ニ添附ノ記録及び文書ガ日本政府
 ノ公文書ナルコト並ニ右ガ下記名稱、省
 又ハ部局ノ公式書類及び綴リ、一部
 ナルニテ證明ス(若シテハ、綴番號又ハ
 引用其、他公式書類又ハ綴ニ於ケル該文
 書、成規所在、公式名稱ヲモ特記スニシ
 「内閣官房」

一九四七年五月十五日

東京ニ於テ署名

當該官吏署名欄 佐藤トモヲ署名

右ノ者、公的資格内閣書記官

證人

馬場恒春

No. 11

公式入手ニ關スル證明

doc 3028

余軍籍番號〇一九三三〇〇〇 エリック・ダグラー・
フランク・少尉ハ、余ガ聯合國最高司令官
總司令部ニ關係アルモ、ナルコト、並ニ上記
題名ノ文書ハ、余ガ公務上日本政府、上
記署名官吏ヨリ入手シタルモ、ナルコトヲ
茲ニ證ス

一九四七年五月十五日

東京ニ於テ署名

氏名欄 イー・ダグラー・フランク・署名

右ノ者、公的資格國際警察部調査官

證人 ジョージ・エフ・ニース・署名

No. 12